DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 895 PS 005 151

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TITLE "Sesame Street" Social Goals Project. A Handbook on the Interpersonal Strategies of Cooperation, Conflict Resolution, and Differing Perspectives.
INSTITUTION Oregon State System of Higher Education, Monmouth. Teaching Research Div.
SPONS AGENCY Children's Television Workshop, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE 9 Dec 70
NOTE 45p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Behavioral Science Research; Classroom Observation Techniques; Conflict Resolution; *Curriculum Development; *Educational Television; Empathy; Evaluation; Guides; Helping Relationship; *Interpersonal Relationship; *Preschool Children; *Social Behavior
IDENTIFIERS *Cooperative Behavior; Sesame Street

ABSTRACT

The information contained in this report is intended for the "Sesame Street" writers who are assigned the task of creating program material in the interpersonal area. This information will also be useful for evaluation of program materials aimed at interpersonal goals. First, a list of interpersonal strategies is presented; these are: cooperation, conflict resolution; and differing perspectives. Each strategy describes a class of activity that is common to the interpersonal behavior of young children. In Part II of this report, each strategy is presented in relation to its descriptive definition and its interpersonal function. In Part III, detailed information on each strategy is given. In addition, some details about the circumstances in which each strategy is likely to occur and the frequency with which the strategies were observed in the behavior of young children are indicated. The strategies, their descriptive definition, and the examples given are based on actual classroom observation. An appendix provides descriptions of classrooms visited during the study. (Author/DB)

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SESAME STREET SOCIAL GOALS PROJECT

A HANDBOOK ON THE INTERPERSONAL STRATEGIES OF COOPERATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES

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I. INTRODUCTION

Social and interpersonal curriculum goals have been given a high priority for the second season of Sesame Street. The information contained in this report is intended for the Sesame Street writers who are assigned the task of creating program material in the interpersonal area. First, a list of interpersonal strategies is presented. Each strategy describes a class of activity that is common to the interpersonal behavior of young children. In Part II of this report, each strategy will be presented in relation to its descriptive definition and its interpersonal function. In Part III, detailed information on each strategy will be given. These details are intended to be a source of ideas for the writers of program materials. In addition, the material presented will indicate some details about the circumstances in which each strategy is likely to occur, and an indication about the frequency with which the strategies were observed in the behavior of young children.

The following example will give an indication of how the material may be used. Consider a writer given an assignment to write a skit that teaches children to cooperate by taking turns (exchanging). A glance at the material contained in this report will provide information on the characteristic situations in which turn-taking occurs. One piece of information is that as a strategy, it occurs relatively infrequently. Moreover, it works best when the turns are of short duration and the second child enjoys being a spectator. Also included are brief descriptions of situations observed in the field where children took turns.

A second way in which the information contained in this report will be useful is for evaluation of program materials aimed at interpersonal goals. The interpersonal strategies, their descriptive definitions, and the examples are based on actual classroom observation. They are events that can be observed reliably in the target group. The categories and descriptions are the basis of the observational system to be used with the situational testing procedures presently under development. These procedures will be used in the evaluation of the social goals of Sesame Street II.

II. THE STRATEGIES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

A strategy is a class of interpersonal behavior between two or more children. If adults are involved, it is only as a consequence of behavior between children. The strategies serve three functions. Table I lists those which frequently function for cooperation. Table II lists those primarily used to resolve conflict. Table III lists strategies which function when one person has taken the viewpoint of another. The first column of each table is essentially a label for easy reference to a class of behaviors. The second column provides a descriptive definition of each class. The third column designates the parameters and some of the applications of the strategy.

Cooperation

For purposes of the observations, cooperation has been defined as behavior for the joint gain of the participants, or for partial or complete acquisition of the individual goals of two or more participants. Participants are seen as receiving a high level of subjective reward for coordinating their efforts. A participant is usually aware that his cooperation has positive payoffs for others as well as himself. Table 1 lists the interpersonal strategies associated with cooperation.

Conflict Resolution

Identification of conflict resolution strategies necessitated initial definition of conflict. Behavior was recorded as an attempt to resolve conflict only if it followed social interaction defined as "conflict."

Conflict situations were defined as those involving two or more persons whose overt purposeful activities interfered with each other. Their activities might be directed toward the same goal as when two people fight over who gets a single toy. Or their activities might be directed toward separate goals as when one person wants to play the phonograph and the other wants to watch T.V.

In order for a situation to lead to conflict, each participant pursues his own activities/goals at the expense of the other person's. If one person's stereo listening interferes with the other person's reading, "conflict" as defined does not apply, because reading does not interfere with stereo. If, however, the reader asks or orders the stereo-listener to substantially reduce the volume, "conflict" does apply.

Not all aggression was called conflict. Conflict involved mutually-interfering goal-directed behavior. If "A" hits "B", that is aggression but not conflict by our definition. "A" must be doing something that

interferes with "B", and "B" must be doing something that interferes with "A". However, consequent aggression was noted because it can indicate the feasibility of a resolution strategy. Table II lists the interpersonal strategies associated with conflict resolution. It should be noted that these strategies are specific to conflict resolution. However, in some situations, the strategies of cooperation may be used to resolve conflict.

Differing Perspectives

In most cases, behavior that was recorded as taking the perspective of others could be more narrowly designated as empathy.

A child can show empathy if a friend has hurt himself or won a prize. Empathy also includes acts of consideration done in anticipation of another person's feelings. A child can show empathy by avoiding a friend's exclusion from a game or making sure he has a piece of cake. Empathy can be either positive or negative in affect. It can include sympathy or praise. Moreover, it can serve to avoid unpleasantness or to exercise the likelihood of a pleasant experience.

Differing perspectives or taking the view of another person includes appreciation of another person's values or preferences. Several instances have already been shown on Sesame Street. One such incident is Ernie's and Oscar's differing perceptions of the lost rubber duckie. Spontaneous occurences have not been observed in the preschools to date. It may be necessary to construct special situations in order to test for these behaviors. Interpersonal strategies associated with differing perspectives are listed in Table III.

Table I

INTERPERSONAL STRATEGIES OF COOPERATION

Interpersonal Strategies	Descriptive Definition	Parameters and Applications
1. Distributing	A child participates in arranging himself, others, or objects such that members of the group engage simulteneously in an activity.	Allotting space. Dispersion or placement of children. Distributing objects or materials.
2. Exchanging	A participant relinquishes his claim to an event (object, activity, or role) in return for a) later access to the event, or b) access to an alternative event.	Alternating use of a goal, object or activity. Trading or bartering equally attractive goals. Exchanging assistance so that each member may obtain a goal.
3. Combining Skills and Resources	A child contributes an object, action, or other resource such that a goal is attained which would not have been attained as efficiently or enjoyably given the child's resources alone.	Bringing together two or more items to achieve a common goal. Pooling efforts or strength to achieve a common goal. Apportioning various parts of a complex task. Differentiating roles for a complex game. Combining ideas or introducing new activities.

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Table II

INTERPERSONAL STRATEGIES TO RESOLVE CONFLICT

Interpersonal Strategies	Descriptive Definition	Parameters and Applications
1. Decision Mechanism*	A game or justification is introduced especially for arriving at a mutually acceptable resolution.	Convincing the opponent by providing a reason for one's own position.
2. Compromise*	An alternative to conflicting goals is agreeable to both sides.	Abandoning all the disputed choices and agreeing upon something new.
3. Distraction*	Attention is redirected from the problem situation to an agreeable or neutral one.	Distraction provided by one of the opponents. Distraction provided by an outsider. This strategy may appear as a preliminary step to decision mechanism such as someone stopping conflict by saying "Hold everything--let's talk about it."
4. Adaptation	The setting, behavior, or activity which led to conflict is changed.	
5. Intervention	Either the solicited or unsolicited presence of an adult or other (usually an outsider) is a major factor in the resolution.	An outsider suggesting, demonstrating or compelling adoption of one of the other strategies. An outsider's presence inhibiting overt conflict.
6. Separation	One or both parties disengage from an activity contributing to the conflict.	Temporarily cooling off and getting a perspective. Leaving the situation.

Table II (Cont'd.)

Interpersonal Strategies	Descriptive Definition	Parameters and Applications
7. Intimidation	One party retracts because of relative timidity or in fear of incipient hostility.	
8. Fighting	Hostile verbalization or physical aggression results from a clash of nearly equal wills.	
9. Conning	One party uses verbal persuasion or situational adaptation to convince a second child to do something that he initially found undesirable.	

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* Recommended for Sesame Street programming.

Table III

INTERPERSONAL STRATEGIES THAT ARE EVIDENCE OF TAKING A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

Interpersonal Strategies	Descriptive Definition	Parameters and Applications
1. Reflection of Mood. (Feelings)	A child or group of children demonstrate that they are aware of, affected by, and/or are willing to reinforce a strong emotion in another.	Expressing sympathy. Offering comfort. Offering praise. Adopting sadness, anger, excitement, or pleasure of another.
2. Constructive response to another's misfortune.	Children try to correct or alleviate another child's problem.	Helping. Obtaining assistance. Apologizing or making amends if one has been an agent to the other's problem. Ignoring a child who is in an embarrassing situation. Providing a distraction to call a child's attention from his problem. Avoiding unpleasantness or making a happy experience more likely.
3. Accommodating others preferences or life style.	A child behaves in a way that is sensitive to another person's values, or habits, rather than his own.	Choosing items that are appropriate or pleasing to a person unlike himself. In a given situation, behaving as another person would behave in those circumstances.

III EXAMPLES

The examples of behavior in this section were collected at four preschools. These preschools are described in Appendix A. The observers were asked to watch for behavior from an initial classification illustrating interpersonal strategies. They were also asked to note other behavior which was cooperative, resolved conflicts, or showed sensitivity to the feelings of others but did not fit into the existing classification schema. Over the weeks during which the data was gathered, the classification system was revised into that described in Section II of this Handbook. (This system is still being refined. Tables I, II and III are currently under revision).

The number of observed incidents of each strategy are a joint result of frequency of occurrence in the classroom and the duration of time during which observers were actively looking for the strategy. Table IV lists the strategies and the number of times they were observed in the preschools. Cooperation strategies were identified earliest, conflict resolution strategies next, and differing perspectives strategies relatively late in the observation. For this reason, the cooperation strategies were observed more frequently than conflict resolutions or differing perspectives strategies (with the exception of "Helping" which was originally a cooperation strategy).

The examples that are reproduced on the pages to follow are a few that seem typical of observations of the particular strategies involved. The following paragraphs describe the methods by which these examples were chosen and characteristic situational context was identified.

After the observations had been recorded at the preschool and classified according to the interpersonal strategies that were illustrated, key factors of the context in which the strategies occurred were isolated and tallied. These factors included number of males, females and adults present, the person(s) initiating and reinforcing the use of the strategy, the general affect associated with the situation, time of day, duration of the incident, and of course the school, area within the school, and activity that formed the contextual setting.

These key factors were tallied for all observations of a specific strategy. Sometimes no patterns (characteristic context) was evident. However, patterns of group size, sex of children and activity were frequently observed in the performance of a strategy. In this section of the Handbook these emerging patterns are described verbally. Numerical data of group size and sex of participants would be misleading because of

variations in occurrence of the strategies. Each strategy is named with its definition. Then, any typical contextual factors that were identified are summarized. Finally, examples of children practicing the strategies are given with as much of the situational context as was observed or as seemed relevant.

TABLE IV

INCIDENCE OF INTERPERSONAL STRATEGIES

Interpersonal Strategies	Number of Instances Observed	
A. COOPERATION STRATEGIES		157
1. Distributing	28	
2. Exchanging	23	
3. Combining Skills and Resources	106	
B. CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES		55
1. Decision Mechanism	3	
2. Compromise	3	
3. Distraction	6	
4. Adaptation	2	
5. Intervention	5	
6. Separation	2	
7. Intimidation	16	
8. Fighting	13	
9. Conning	5	
C. DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES STRATEGIES		46
1. Reflecting of Mood (Feelings)	4	
2. Constructive Response to Another's Misfortune	42	
3. Accommodating Others Preferences or Life Style	0	

COOPERATION STRATEGIES

1. Distributing

> A child participates in arranging himself, others, or objects such that members of the group engage simultaneously in an activity.

This strategy was observed 28 times. It was introduced by adults about a third of the time. It involved mixed groups, boys-only, and girls-only of all sizes. Affect was usually pleasant and never unpleasant. Activities included highly organized dispersion of goods and spontaneous sharing of materials. Some of the activities were well established routines to facilitate an orderly classroom climate. Other activities seemed strictly for fun and for the sake of mutual activity or a feeling of "togetherness." Still others reflected an underlying attitude of "live and let live." In a crowded gym children engaged in different activities avoided interfering with each other by looking for space, swerving to avoid collisions, etc.

Example 1. Boys 1, 2, and 3 have been playing on the floor with blocks and toy trucks. Boy 2 starts putting his blocks together to form a road. Boy 1 and boy 3 use their blocks to build onto boy 2's road so that a longer road is built. Then all 3 boys get their trucks and start running them on the road. Although the space was limited all 3 boys used the road together and seemed to divide it up so all could play on it. There was no conflict of space and the boys played well together until the teacher asked them to start putting their toys away.

Example 2. Girl 1 and girl 2 have been sitting at a table working with a peg board. Both girls have been sharing pegs which are contained in a centrally located box. Girl 1 reaches into the peg box and then places the pegs she has in her hand on the table in front of her. Girl 1 looks at the pegs and notices she has a lot of yellowed-colored pegs. Girl 1 picks up a number of the yellow pegs and offers them to girl 2. Girl 2 looks up from her peg board and looks at the pegs in girl 1's proffered hand. Girl 2 takes the pegs from girl 1 and girl 2 places the yellow pegs on the table next to her peg board. Then both girls continued working on their peg boards. Neither girl smiled, but the affect wasn't negative either. It was a neutral giving and receiving, in other words, a "natural" or normal action.

Example 3. Several groups of children have been playing in the sandboxes, manipulating various utensils. Boy 1 in one corner of the sandbox has finished playing. He takes his two toys and goes over to boys 2 and 3 who are playing in the opposite side of the sandbox. He stands above them, holds up one of the toys and asks, "who wants this?" The other two boys in unison say,"I do." Boy 1 hands the toy to boy 2; boy 3 says nothing. Boy 1 then repeats the question, holding up the second toy. Again both boys answer, "I do," in unison; again boy 1 hands the toy to boy 2. Boy 1 leaves the sandbox, and boys 2 and 3 resume playing together, with no resentment apparent on the part of boy 3.

Example 4. Five boys have crowded into a small closet to take off their coats. There are too many in the closet for all boys to have room to take their coats off. Boy 1 leaves the closet and waits outside until the others have taken their coats off.

Example 5. An adult has been reading a story to six boys. Only the adult has a chair. Some of the children are sitting on the floor. Others are standing. All the children have crowded in, wanting to see the pictures in the storybook. The adult asks the children to sit on their knees so all can see. She also calls them, one at a time, to see the pictures up close.

Example 6. Four boys have been playing a game of paper basketball. Each boy has been pulling wastepaper out of the wastebasket and tossing the wads back into the basket. There has been no organization. Sometimes 2 boys getting paper have gotten into the way of 2 boys throwing. Boy 1 takes all the paper balls in the basket and divides them up. All the boys shoot simultaneiously, redivide the balls and shoot again.

COOPERATION STRATEGIES

2. EXCHANGING

> A participant relinquishes his claim to an event (object, activity, or role) in return for a) later access to the event, or b) access to an alternative event.

There were 23 observations of children exchanging but none of them involved trading a toy being played with by one child in exchange for a toy being used by another child.

In 12 of the situations one child waited until the other child using the toy finished. All of these situations were activities centered around a limited supply of equipment or were activities in which only one child could participate at a time. In some cases the child with the toy volunteered to let another use it afterward, "You can use it after me." In other cases an adult inaugurated the strategy. In several cases the children who exchanged seemed to have fallen quite spontaneously into a well-established habit pattern. In six of the 12 cases just described, the children agreed to exchange only after a conflict over the toy had already arisen.

In 11 of the situations the children used a toy or engaged in activity simultaneously by switching roles in a game so that each had a turn at a coveted role. In other words, each child took a turn assisting while the other had fun. In seven of the 11 reciprocative situations, the groups consisted of boys only or girls only instead of mixed sex. Boys initiated the strategy in six of these 11 instances.

Example 1. Girl 1 has been riding the tricycle for some time. She passes by girl 2 and stops. Girl 1 asks girl 2 if she wants to ride the trike after she (girl 1) has finished her turn. Girl 2 shakes her head yes, smiles at girl 1 and girl 1 rides away.

Example 2. A group of children has been told that adult 1 will go inside and bring out a trike. The children wait outside on the steps for the adult to return with the trike. Adult 1 brings the trike outside and tells the children that they will have to take turns riding the tricycle. Adult 1 then tells girl 1 that she may ride the trike first. Girl 1 gets on the trike and pedals away. The other children decide who is going to ride the trike next. Girl 2 says "next" the loudest so she will be next and the other children will take turns after girl 2. They seem satisfied with this "taking turns" arrangement.

Example 3. Girl 1 is riding around the playground while boy 1 apparently is counting time (he is rhythmically going, "1-2-3" and ticking off his fingers). He then goes over and stops girl 1, wanting to claim the tricycle. There is a discussion. Girl 1 makes a sudden, quick turn and rides off, with boy 1 chasing her. She rides about half-way across the playground, then stops, gets off, and hands the vehicle to the boy. (This happens quite near a group of teachers, but without obvious intervention). He takes the tricycle and rides away.

Example 4. Boy 1 and boy 2 have been milling around the classroom. Both boys come across a block tower that another child has finished playing with. Boy 1 jumps over the block tower and then boy 2 does the same thing. They jump over the block tower several times, each one waiting until the other one has finished his turn. Boy 2 kicks the block tower over and then boy 1 takes a turn at scattering the blocks and then boy 2. Both were smiling during the jumping and during the scattering process.

Example 5. Boys 1 and 2 have obtained basketballs from a supply in the gym. Both go to the one basket at the far side of the gym. Boy 1 shoots. Boy 2 waits and then shoots while boy 1 recovers his ball. Boys 1 and 2 take turns shooting for five minutes.

Example 6. Boy 1 sits down on the gym floor and holds on to a hula hoop. Boy 2 grabs the other end and pulls boy 1 around. After a minute they switch places and boy 1 pulls boy 2.

Example 7. The children are engaged in active play, running around the playground. Girl 1 chases boy 1 into a corner of the playground, making loud growling noises. Boy 1 reaches the fence, then turns around, begins growling and chases girl 1. She runs off, across the playground in the other direction, screaming in mock terror.

Example 8. Several girls are playing side by side before a raised sandbox. Girl 1 turns to girl 2 and says, "Angela, will you do my hands?" She then places her hands in the sandbox, while girl 2, with the help of girl 3 buries them. They pile sand on until girl 1 says "O.K." They then stop, all giggling, while girl 1 pulls her hands out. Then girl 1 turns to girl 2 and says, "O.K., now let me do your hands." Girl 2 places her hands in the sandbox, and girl 1 covers them up. They switched roles in this manner several times, apparently enjoying the game.

COOPERATION STRATEGIES

3. COMBINING SKILLS AND RESOURCES

> A child contributes an object, action, or other resource such that a goal is attained which would not have been attained as efficiently or enjoyably given the child's resources alone.

By and large this was the most frequent class of strategies with 106 observed instances. Resources were pooled to reach a shared goal and to augment the participant's mutual enjoyment of the activity. The resources that were combined included materials and equipment 7 times, joint efforts 40 times, participants' individual skills 15 times, different roles in complex play 22 times, and ideas 22 times. Because this class of strategies was observed so many times the various paramenters and application will be described in some detail.

Each time that materials or equipment were combined no more than two children participated. In five of the seven situations they were children of the same sex. Adults were never present. In all cases the play clearly involved social interaction rather than mere parallel play. However, the children manipulating the toys did not assume different roles, even when the toys were non-abstract, "pretend" toys such as miniature dolls' cars or dishes. Examples 1 through 5 illustrate combination of two or more items.

Thirty-one of the forty times that children pooled their efforts or combined similar skills, they did so in a consistently cooperative setting. Nine times they cooperated after initial conflict. Usually only two or three children participated. Frequently participants were girls playing with girls or boys playing with boys. Adults were seldom present. Interestingly, adults were never present when children pooled their efforts following conflict. Usually, little or only very standard classroom equipment was essential to the activities. For example, no equipment is needed for wrestling. An excellent non-play example of this strategy is the very common safety procedure of holding hands and walking in pairs on field trips. It is simple to demonstrate but requires constant cooperation of the partners, particularly when there are many distractions along the sidewalk. Examples 6 through 14 provide further illustrations.

Fifteen times the children apportioned various parts of a task and then combined their individualized efforts toward a common goal. Observers noted commonplace division of labor as one person washing dishes and the other drying; or two people sorting toys and a third person arranging them on a shelf. Usually only two children were in the play-group although

group size was as high as six children. Five groups were boys-only and five were girls-only. Four included adults. Twice adults initiated the strategy. A variety of activities and play materials were involved. There is so much overlap of this parameter with others that Example 15 is the only clear illustration.

Role differentiation for a complex game is similar to division of labor, except that participants are either involved in dramatic play or there is a definite game orientation rather than a task orientation. In either case the play is highly imaginative. It is almost always of positive affect. It can involve groups of any size. It is usually initiated by a boy. Examples 15 through 19 illustrate role differentiation. Examples 20 and 21 illustrate both role differentiation and the sharing of ideas.

Of the 22 times children were observed sharing ideas, 15 involved only two children. In nine of the observations only males were in the group. Just four observations had only females. Similarly males initiated the strategy twice as often as females. In most of these cases, however, only males were present. All reinforcement was positive. Ideas were solicited and volunteered. Sometimes they were demonstrated and not verbalized. Often it was difficult to determine whether a youngster was consciously conveying an idea and whether he was consciously being copied.

Example 1. Boy 1 has been playing by himself, using wooden blocks to build a road and a small, low structure. Boy 2 has been playing at the other end of the classroom. Boy 2 has been involved with a group of boys and girls who have been using small styrofoam blocks to build small structures. This group has also been throwing the blocks at each other periodically. Boy 2 picks up a handful of the styrofoam blocks and walks to where boy 1 is playing with the wooden blocks. Boy 2 stands momentarily watching boy 1 and then boy 2 opens his hands and lets the styrofoam blocks fall on top of and around the wooden blocks. Boy 2 doesn't do this with anger, but with a gesture that seems to indicate that he wants to share his foam blocks with boy 1 and that by this gesture he (boy 2) is indicating that he would like to play with boy 1. Boy 1 reaches over and picks up one of the foam blocks and places it between two wooden blocks. Boy 2 gets down on his hands and knees and begins placing a wooden block over the foam block and on top of the two wooden blocks so that a shelter is made for the foam block. Boy 1 repeats boy 2's action and soon the two boys have constructed a "garage" for the foam block. The two boys then start pushing other foam blocks into the garage. The boys are enjoying their play and continue to use both kinds of blocks to build other types of structures. Their play continues for approximately 4 minutes.

Example 2. The children are playing quietly at varying activities. Girl 1 at the main table has a pegboard and is putting the pegs in. Girl 2 approaches from across the room with a tray of wooden beads. She stands beside girl 1 and, without verbalization, begins to place the beads between the pegs on girl 1's board. Girl 1 takes some beads and joins in this activity. They continue in this way until all spaces are filled. Girl 2 then goes off, leaving the remaining beads with Girl 2. Almost no words were exchanged, but the affect was decidedly friendly.

Example 3. Girls 1 and 2 have been playing near each other, but not really together. Girl 1 gestures to girl 2, pointing to the opposite corner of the room and saying that she is going to play "over there." Girl 1 takes serveral dolls and toys and puts them in the place she has indicated. She then returns, takes girl 2's arm and says, "C'mon." Girl 1 and girl 2 go across the room to the opposite corner.

Example 4. Most of the children had been playing with clay in a decidedly hostile manner. However, on one end of the table boy 1 and girl 1 had been playing together without strife. They watch and imitate each other, then put both pieces of clay together and redivide the lump. They then set up a common rhythm and pound their clay in unison to form two pancakes. Girl 1 puts her pancake in a saucer, divides it into small pieces, and hands them, one at a time to boy 1. When he has all her pieces, she grabs some of his pancake. Both resume making pies with little further interaction although they remain friendly.

Example 5. During free play, boys 1 and 2 begin arguing over a toy car. They complain to the teacher, who first suggests that they"work something out." Then, when this ambiguous order proves confusing to the children, she suggests that boy 2 get another car. He does so, and a racing game is initiated.(The beginning of this interaction was not observed.) Boys 1 and 2 begin racing their respective cars.

Example 6. During free play session prior to the actual beginning of the nursery school day, girl 1 "discovers" a covered table against one wall of the room. She proposes the game of having all the children hide under there when one particular boy arrives. She is fairly successful at organizing the other children to remain under the table with her. After several minutes of waiting, all become very excited and alternate between running to the window to see if he is coming yet, and running back under the table, so he will not catch them looking when he comes.

Example 7. Girls 1 and 2 have been sitting at a table. Girl 1 has a puzzle. Girl 2 has been riffling through a box of scrap materials. Girl 1 asks Girl 2 if she wants to help put together a puzzle. Girl 2 moves closer and they both look for pieces and hum a tune.

Example 8. The children and teachers have all removed their shoes before going on the gym floor. Girls 1 and 2 snatch a teacher's shoe the moment she takes it off. They run off grinning. The teacher joins their game and gives chase. Girl 1 throws the shoe past the teacher to girl 2. A game of keep-away continues between girls 1 and 2 until the teacher intercepts her shoe.

Example 9. Boy 1 is pushing a toy car around the floor. Boy 2, sitting at the table, notices this and is attracted. The next time boy 1 pushes his car, boy 2 jumps up from the table to grab it. Both race for it. Then, quite naturally, though without verbalization, they begin a game of pushing it back and forth between them. Both seem perfectly satisfied by this solution.

Example 10. The children are playing in a small neighborhood park. Girl 1 is on a swing and behind her, girl 2 and boy 1 are vying for the right to push her. They try five different solutions to this conflict. Boy 1 begins pushing, but girl 2 says, "No, I'm pushing" and boy 1 steps to the side. He begins trying to push girl 1 as she goes by, and ends up more-or-less swatting her each time. Girl 1 reciprocates, and while girl 2 pushes, girl 1 and boy 1 engage in a friendly swatting game. Tiring of this, boy 1 creeps back behind the swing and begins pushing while girl 2 wanders off. Girl 2 comes back shortly thereafter and decides that she still wants to push. So, boy 1 climbs on the swing with girl 1 and instructs girl 2 to "push both of us." However, this load is too heavy for girl 2, and she can't move them. Finally, boy 1 climbs down, and he and girl 2 together begin to twist the swing around in order to twirl, instead of push girl 1. This solution seems to satisfy all 3 parties, and the affect becomes quite cheerful.

Example 11. Boy 1 notices some apparantly abandoned plastic figurines on one side of the classroom. He exclaims, "Hey! No one's playing over here," goes over and picks one up. Boy 2 appears, saying, "I'm playing over here." Instead of disagreeing, they begin a game together with the figures, inventing roles and events for them.

Example 12. The children have been playing in the gym with a variety of equipment. Hula hoops are especially popular but there are not enough for everyone. Boy 1 and girl 1 both start to pick up the same hula hoop from the floor. They struggle. Neither will let go, trying to pull it from the other. Boy 2, a bystander, gets caught in hoop accidentally. Boy 1 and girl quit competing for the hoop. Instead they go across the gym trying to catch other children in the hoop. Similarly, boys 3 and 4 struggle for 2 different hula hoops. Boy 3 pulls harder. Boy 4, still holding on, slides along floor. Instead of continuing to quarrel they have fun with boy 3 pulling boy 4 along the slippery gym floor.

Example 13. Boy 1 has been riding the trike around the playground area. Boy 2 has tied a rope around the handle bars of the trike and has been helping boy 1 ride around the playground by pulling boy 1 with the rope. An obstruction which is really an X-shaped support bar stops the progress of the two boys. Boy 2 has ducked under the support bar and tries to pull boy 1 on the trike under the bar too. However, the support bar is too low for boy 1 and the trike to get under. Boy 2 continues to pull the trike and boy 1 until the trike is right against the bar. Boy 1 starts to fuss with boy 2. Finally, boy 1 starts to back-peddle the trike away from the support bar. Boy 2 allows him to do so. The trike and boy 1 are about 5 feet away from the support bar and then boy 2 comes over, picks up the rope again and starts pulling the trike and boy 1 starts peddling again. Both boys are happy with this solution and continue this activity for another five-six minutes.

Example 14. Boy 1 is standing in the corner of the playground, very excited about something he sees, or is planning to do. (The actual object of his attention is unclear.) He is motioning to a friend and screaming, "Tony, come on." His friend is some distance away, on a tricycle with another boy, and doesn't come. Instead, he motions boy 1 over to him. Boy 1 goes across the playground to him and climbs on the back of the tricycle (it's a three-person vehicle). Yelling, "here we go!", all three ride off, very excitedly.

Example 15. The children are playing with clay. Two, a boy and a girl, have been playing closely for a while, imitating each other, distributing the clay to each other etc. (See III2 Ex. 3). With no apparent verbal initiation, she pounds her piece into a pancake while he watches. He then picks up a toy pot and pounds it upside down on her flattened clay to form a shape. With the shape cut out, he turns back to his own clay. They continue playing in a friendly but more separate manner.

Example 16. Boy 1 has been riding the trike around the playground for approximately six minutes. Boy 2 has been playing with a tire and a rope, but now is playing only with the rope. Boy 1 comes close to boy 2 and and boy 2 gestures for boy 1 to stop. Boy 1 stops and boy 2 begins to "service" the tricycle. Boy 2 uses the rope to put air in the tires. Boy 2 finishes filling the tires, looks up at boy 1 who smiles at boy 2. Boy 1 gets back on the trike and pedals away. Though this activity was brief, both boys enjoyed the interaction.

Example 17. Boy 1 and boy 2 have been playing with each other and then start "scuffling." They are not fighting over anything, but simply tumbling each other about as if they enjoyed the activity. Boy 1 and boy 2 get up and go to another area in the classroom, where they start tumbling each other again. Boy 3 joins them and teams up with boy 1. Boy 3 and boy 1 "attack" different parts of boy 2's body, one boy on boy 2's legs and another on boy 2's arms. Although boy 2 does not enjoy this new confrontation, he is not really hurt by the other boys. Boy 1 and boy 3 seem to enjoy inflicting the blows on boy 2. This activity was of short duration and broke up because boy 2 finally got away from boy 1 and boy 3.

Example 18. Boys 1, 2, 3, and 4 have arrived at the jungle gym at the same time. They start playing on the jungle gym and are climbing on it. Boy 1 looks at boy 4 and says, "You be the monster." Boy 4 smiles and starts acting like a monster. Boy 4 begins chasing the other 3 boys by climbing after them on the jungle gym. All boys enjoy this game, but it only lasts a few minutes and the boys all leave and become involved in other activities.

Example 19. Boy 1 and girl 1 are standing side by side at a table building with plastic blocks. Girl 1 apparently decides to sneak up behind the boy and playfully whack him. However, boy 1 looks around and sees her, before she can do this. Girl 1, disappointed, becomes somewhat upset and says, "No, don't look yet . . . I don't like you if you're gonna look." Boy 1 obligingly turns around and allows girl 1 to sneak up and whack him. Both laugh and return to their separate activities.

Example 20. Several children in the sandbox have begun a game of imaginary play involving hunting and cooking rabbits. Boy 1 in one corner goes through the motions of killing a rabbit he has "caught." He then takes the imaginary object over to girl 1 and shows her how to cook it with the pots that are lying around the sandbox. She follows his instructions and imitates his gestures.

Example 21. Boy 2 joins the play described above. Boy 1 leads him to a corner of the sandbox and elaborately explains, using both words and gestures, how to catch and kill a rabbit. Then boy 1 instructs boy 2 to wait for a rabbit and leaves him in the corner. Boy 2 waits about 30 seconds, seeming a bit puzzled, then begins to repeat the gestures shown him by boy 1. He then brings his imaginary prey back to boy 1, saying, "I got him."

Example 22. The children are taking turns finger painting at a table. One boy is working and the others are watching him. Two of the spectators, a boy and a girl, attempt, somewhat competitively, to show the boy painting how to draw a car. They each outline a car on the blank table top, saying, "This is how you make a car," "No, this is how." The child painting ignores both of them, they become bored, and the behavior dies out.

Example 23. Boy 1 has been playing alone with a set of large (8" x 12" x 6") blocks. He makes a square enclosure and sits on the blocks with his feet inside. Boy 2 passes by and is asked "Do you want to get in?" Boy 1 moves over and both boys sit inside and pretend they are train passengers.

Example 24. The children in a predominately Spanish-American classroom are coloring pictures. Two girls sitting next to each other begin picking out their crayons and discussing the names of the colors in Spanish and English. They chatter away in both languages, correcting each other's mistakes.

Example 25. Two girls have been sitting side by side at a table working with wet clay. Girl 1 asks girl 2 how to get the clay off of her hands. Girl 2 says "Why don't you do it like this?" Girl 2 demonstrates by running the fingers of one hand along the other hand to peel off the clay. Girl 1 imitates girl 2 successfully. There is no further conversation but girl 2 watched her instructions being carried out and both girls seemed pleased with the results.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

1. DECISION MECHANISMS

> A game or justification is introduced especially for arriving at a mutually acceptable resolution.

This strategy was only identified three times. Two times a justification was used rather than a game. Once the justification was demonstrated and once it was verbalized. In a third instance of conflict, a game quickly evolved and settled the matter. All three instances are recorded in Examples 1-3. Games for being "It" or "going first" were never inaugurated by the children or their supervisors. Consequently, the observors introduced situations intended to raise a problem as to which child would be first. The children tried to outshout each other. "Me!" Me!" Me!" One observor introduced the game Spin the Pencil and the other, in a different incident, introduced Guess Which Hand. For Spin the Pencil the children sat or stood around a table. The observor spun a pencil on the table by flicking one end with his finger. The person toward whom it pointed was "It" or "Went first." For "Guess Which Hand" the observor hid a pebble or other token in one hand. The first child to guess correctly on repeated trials was "It" or "Went first." The only problem with Guess Which Hand was that after one child chose correctly and became "It" those who hadn't had a turn to guess still wanted to. Both going-first strategies were suggested spontaneously by the children shortly afterward in subsequent activities.

Example 1. Boy 1 and girl 1 have each been working a jigsaw puzzle. Boy 1 says, "You have one of my pieces." Girl 1 shakes head no and puts the disputed piece into her puzzle. She says, "It's a turtle." Boy 1 says apologetically, "Oh...I thought it was mine."

Example 2. There are two jumpropes lying on the ground, as the children are filing onto the playground. Girl 1 runs out first and picks up both of them. Boy 1 then comes up and says to her, "I want one, gimme one." Girl 1 replies, "No, this is for girls; jumpropes is for girls." Boy 1 accepts this judgment without argument and runs off to another activity.

Example 3. Boys 1 and 2 are playing with toy cars. Each runs his car in the opposite direction along one set of toy tracks. Their cars meet head-on in the center of the tracks. They push their cars against each other yelling, "Beep, beep." Finally boy 1 succeeds in

pushing boy 2's car off the track. Boy 2, laughing, says, "I'm gonna get you, buddy." They resume separate but friendly play.

2. COMPROMISE

An alternative to conflicting goals is agreeable to both sides.

Compromise was observed only three times and even these are arguable. However, cooperation strategies, such as Combining Skills and Resources often include elements of compromise. Two groups employing this strategy consisted only of boys. One group consisted only of girls.

Example 1. Five boys have been pretending that a row of five big 12" x 18" blocks is a toy train. Each boy has been sitting on a block facing the same direction. Each plays a role of engineer, passenger, etc. At mutually agreed upon intervals they change positions moving to the block ahead. Boys 1 and 2 begin fighting, struggling over the engineer's position. While they struggle, boy 3 sits on the block under dispute. He immediately begins playing the role of engineer, making the sounds of the whistle, etc. Boys 1 and 2 get caught up in the pantomine, stop fighting, begin playing passenger roles, and take seats on the second and third blocks.

Example 2. In the same play situation as above a supervisor has walked by and decided it is time for the children to move forward again. She said, "Change places now; it's Shelley's turn to be first." The boys begin to change reluctantly. One boy's block tips. All of the other boys immediatcly turn over their blocks too. They make a spontaneous game of destroying the train. Then they all go on to new activities.

Example 3. Girl 1 has been riding in the wagon; girl 2 has been pushing her. Girl 1 had promised her they would soon change places and girl 2 could have a ride. Girl 3 comes up and bribes girl 1 to stay in the wagon and let girl 3 push her, after which girl 3, not girl 2, will have a turn in the wagon. Girl 2 says it is her turn in the wagon and starts crying. An adult comes over. She puts girl 2 in the wagon with girl 1. Girl 3 pushes both girls.

3. DISTRACTION

Attention is redirected from the problem situation to an agreeable or neutral one.

Distraction was introduced as a strategy for resolving conflict in five instances. Often the distraction was introduced accidentally by a youngster not in the initial conflict. Sometimes the hostility seemed to be displaced against this newcomer. Only the teacher, in the fifth example, seemed to use humor as an intentional ploy to distract the children from a conflict. In a sixth example a child called a teacher (intervention) when distraction might have been used without need for a teacher and with more positive affect.

Example 1. Two boys, ostensibly washing paint off their hands have begun a water fight. Their splashing, which began in jest, has become hostile. Boy 1, more as a warning to boy 2, than as a real complaint says (quite softly and flatly) "Teacher, Russell's throwing water on floor." Boy 2, seemingly more by coincidence than in a conscious attempt to distract boy 1 says, "lookit" and points to what he has just noticed--boys 3 and 4 are interfering with the paint that boys 1 and 2 left on the table. Boys 1 and 2 rush over to the table, their mutual quarrel forgotten.

Example 2. A permanent piece of equipment on the playground is shaped like a big box. Boy 1 has been inside. Girl 1 wants to get inside too. Boy 1 attempts to prevent her. Girl 1 walks around the box, then outmaneuvers the boy and gets on top. Boy 1 is distracted by other activities outside and leaves.

Example 3. Girl 1 has been riding a tricycle. Boy 1 pushes her off and commandeers the trike. Girl 1 cries and heads toward the supervisor. Enroute she notices the sandbox, goes there instead, and begins playing in the sand.

Example 4. Boys 1 and 2 have positioned big 12" x 18" blocks into a tight row for a train. Each "rides" one of the blocks. They invite boy 3 to join them. Boy 3 accidentally knocks over one of the blocks as he tries to "board" the train. Boys 1 and 2 look disturbed. Boy 4 runs by the area. Boys 1 and 2 forget their irritation with boy 3 as they abandon the train and chase boy 4.

Example 5. Nineteen children have been seated around their tables and are waiting to be served lunch. Girl 1 has knocked over her milk. It spills on girl 2. Girl 2 is angry. An adult standing nearby turns toward them and jokes, "One down, eighteen to go." Everyone laughs. Girls 1 and 2 and the adult cheerfully clean up the milk together.

Example 6. It is time to rest on the cots. Boy 1 tries to look at book but boy 2 interferes by putting his arm around boy 1. Boy 1 says, "Teacher, he (boy 2) keeps doing this." (Boy 1 makes a hugging motion). Teacher tells boy 2 to sit on his own bed. (Distraction might have been a successful strategy if boy 1 had tried to interest boy 2 in the book).

CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

4. ADAPTATION

The setting, behavior, or activity which led to conflict is changed.

Adaptation was used four times in attempts to resolve conflict but was unsuccessful three times and only partially successful in the fourth. In three cases the conflict was over an activity and once over a person.

Example 1. The children are playing actively in various ways in a gymnasium. Girl 1 is involved in hula-hooping. Girl 2, crawling around the floor as part of another activity comes into range of girl 1's spinning hoop. Girl 1 is forced to stop the hoop in order to avoid hitting girl 2. This seems to give her an idea and she throws the hula hoop over girl 2 to "catch" her. Girl 2, however, responds negatively to this initiated game. She stands up, scowls, and says emphatically, "don't." Girl 1, simply grins and again attempts to throw the hoop over girl 2, apparently very fond of her new game. This time, girl 2 gets very annoyed and grabs hold of the hula hoop. They each tug until girl 2 says, "I'm gonna tell," and runs to the teacher. Adult response was inaudible, but girl 1 was not reprimanded.

Example 2. Several children are playing in the sandbox. Boy 1, in deciding to leave the sandbox, has gone through a ritual of distributing his toys to boys 2 and 3. Girl 1 observes all this. Several minutes later, she approaches boys 2 and 3 and, in imitation of boy 1, holds up a red plastic shovel full of sand and asks, "who wants this?" The other two boys do not reinforce her as they did boy 1, but ignore her. Girl 1 then dumps the sand that was in her shovel into boy 2's pail. This play for positive attention does not work; boy 2 says something fairly hostile and dumps the sand out.

5. INTERVENTION

Either the solicited or unsolicited presence of an adult or other (usually an outsider) is a major factor in the resolution.

In twenty-two instances adult intervention was used as an attempt to resolve conflicts. Twelve of these times the strategy was initiated by the adult. In over half the cases affect was unpleasant. Sometimes the adult ordered a halt to the quarrel. Other times she suggested an alternate strategy. In half the instances the conflict was over an object and less frequently over activities, etc. Usually the quarrel was between two boys or between two girls, not between boy and girl.

Example 1. The children are engaged in fairly active free play. Two boys begin quarreling over a toy car. They appeal to the teacher, who suggests that boy 2 get another car. He accepts this and does so.

Example 2. As an arts and crafts activity, a group of children are preparing a finger-painting table by spreading half of it with orange paint and half with black paint. One child overlaps his color onto the other side of the table. Seeing this, a boy on the opposite side yells, "stop!" The teacher intervenes, saying, "I think he'll do that if you tell him to--you don't need to scream." The children resume spreading the paint without further comment.

Example 3. A group of children are sitting in chairs on one side of the room, watching T.V. Boy 1 runs up from the other side of the room and says to boy 2, "Get out of my chair." Before boy 2 can respond either positively or negatively, the teacher intervenes, saying to boy 1, "That's not your chair, Robbie. You left." Boy 1 accepts this and finds himself an empty seat.

Example 4. Girl 1 has been riding the trike for some time (about 10 minutes). Boy 1 comes over to girl 1 and tells her that it is his turn to ride the trike. Girl 1 refuses to turn the trike over to boy 1. Adult 1, who has been standing nearby watching the interaction, tells girl 1 that she has been riding the trike long enough. Adult 1 tells girl 1 to get off the trike. Boy 1 gets on the trike and rides away. Boy 1, who acted as if he was going to quit the situation before the adult intervened, is now smiling and quite happy. Girl 1 is standing alone and sulking.

Example 5. Girl 1 has been building (with the help of adult 1) an elaborate wooden block structure. Girl 1 leaves the block structure and goes to another area. Boy 1 has been building his own structure by himself. Boy 1 needs some more blocks and sees the unattended block structure that girl 1 has left. Boy 1 goes over to girl 1's structure and starts taking blocks from the structure. Adult 1 tells boy 1 he can't tear the structure down yet because girl 1 isn't finished playing with it. Boy 1 gives blocks back and begins looking for other wooden blocks elsewhere. Boy 1 looks a little disappointed, but not unhappy.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

6. SEPARATION

One or both parties disengage from an activity contributing to the conflict.

Separation was used six times in order to resolve conflict. An adult was present only once. Affect was unpleasant in every incident. In three cases the conflict needing resolution resulted from rejection of an activity, once from rejection of a role, and once from rejection of an object. In cases the participants parted amicably even though they had not been able to find a cooperative resolution.

Example 1. The children are waiting in line to go outdoors. They have been standing for awhile and are growing restless. Girl 1 grabs the arms of boy 1, who is behind her. She begins playing with them, twisting them, and wrapping them around her body. Boy 1 grows annoyed and says loudly, "Don't." She lets go of his arms and they stand apart, glaring at each other.

Example 2. A girl and boy have been fighting over a bread pan toy in the sandbox. Girl 1 has given up. Boy 1 finishes with the pan, about 5 minutes later, and throws it to girl 1. She says, "Quit it." He says, "You can have it now," but she replies, "I don't want it now." He accepts this, and both return to separate play, leaving object where it fell.

7. INTIMIDATION

One party retracts because of relative timidity or in fear of incipient hostility.

Intimidation as a strategy to resolve conflict was observed 16 times. Usually an interaction was between only two children. Almost twice as many girls as boys were involved and girls initiated the strategy almost twice as often. In conflicts between boys and girls, the girls withdrew twice as often. Affect was never happy, either in process or at the conclusion of an incident.

Example 1. Two girls swing a jump rope between them. Girl 3 comes up and takes hold of the rope in front of girl 1. Girls 1, 2, and 3 all stand firm. Girl 1 finally leaves.

Example 2. A boy is playing with the suds in a plastic dishpan. Girl 1 comes over and dips a toy pot in the suds, attempting to join his play. The boy yells, "No" loudly and moves into a corner, taking the dishpan. Girl 1 follows him and drops her dish in. He throws it out and glowers at her. Discouraged, she drifts off, leaving him alone.

Example 3. The children are playing with clay in a most hostile and chaotic classroom situation. Girl 1 is sitting quietly at the table with a lump of clay. Boy 1 comes up from behind and grabs it out of her hand. Rather than protest, girl 1 bends down and gathers scraps from the floor. She puts them together to form a slightly smaller piece and resumes her play.

Example 4. Girl 1 is riding on a tricycle. Boy 1 approaches and asks if he can ride with her. Girl 1 replies quite emphatically, "No, there's no room." (A blatant lie). Then, after a moment she adds, "You can ride on the wheel--you'll get smashed." Boy 1 goes off and joins another group. Girl 1 continues riding the tricycle.

Example 5. Two boys and girl playing in the sandbox have just had a series of hostile interchanges involving a toy shovel. At one point, girl 1 throws it past but not at the boys. Boy 1 picks it up, more questioningly than acquisitively. However, girl 1 yells, "I'm telling," gets out of the sandbox and begins running towards the teacher, who is on the other side of the playground. Boy 1 alarmed, chases her, and yells, "I didn't take your shovel--you can have it." She stops, while he catches up, and there is some verbal interchange. Then girl 1 turns around, goes back to the sandbox, picks up the shovel and resumes playing alone. Boy 1 also returns and resumes play with boy 2.

Example 6. Girl 1 has told girl 2 that she (girl 2) could ride the trike when she (girl 1) was finished. Girl 1 is still riding the trike. Girl 1 rides close-by to where girl 2 is standing. Girl 2 talks to girl 1 and tells her that it is her turn to ride the trike. Girl 1 shakes her head "no" and refuses to get off the trike. Girl 1 then pedals the trike away from girl 2. Girl 1 was rather aggressive about her refusal to girl 2. Girl 2 stands by herself looking at girl 1 ride away and girl 2 looks unhappy.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

8. FIGHTING

Hostile verbalization or physical aggression results from a clash of nearly equal wills.

Thirteen observations of fighting were recorded. These involved boys and girls in almost equal numbers. In seven cases boys and girls were fighting with each other. The boys initiated the fight twice as often. Fights were over objects in eight instances and over incompatible activities in three instances.

Example 1. A girl is playing with some clay. Boy 1 runs up and takes it from her. Incensed, she yells, "Gimme" loudly and hostilely, and gives him a shove. He falls and begins to cry. Frightened at possible repercussions, girl 1 runs out of the room.

Example 2. Two boys are fighting over several lumps of clay. Boy 1 throws a piece at boy 2 who throws one back, with considerable force. It hits boy 1, and he begins to cry. The teacher at this point goes over and orders them both to quit.

Example 3. Girl 1 has been riding the trike on the playground. She gets off the trike to push it up a slight grade. Girl 2 has been refused her trike-riding turn by girl 1. Now girl 2 sees that girl 1 is not on the trike and runs over and climbs on the trike. Girl 1 stops pushing the trike and starts physically and verbally removing girl 2 from the trike seat. Girl 1 finally gets girl 2 off the trike and then she (girl 1) gets back on the trike seat and pedals away. Girl 2 is very disappointed and looks as if she might start crying. She doesn't, but she does just stand there where girl 1 left her.

Example 4. Several children are playing in various areas of a large sandbox. Boy 1 is dredging a bread pan through the sand, apparently pretending that it is a truck. He moves it across the sandbox and into an area where girl 1 is quietly digging. She grabs the pan. Boy 1 orders her to "give it back." They begin quarreling, saying, "I want it," "I had it first." Following this and similar hostile verbalization, girl 1 gives up and moves to the other corner of the sandbox. Boy 1 reclaims the bread pan and resumes his solitary play.

9. CONNING

One party uses verbal persuasion or situational adaptation to convince a second child to do something that he initially found undesirable.

Boys were involved in only four of the five instances when verbal persuasion was used to resolve conflict. Adults were never present. The instances ranged from reassurance ("It's O.K., we're just pretending.") or threats ("I'm gonna tell") to a full-scale sales pitch (Example 1). At other times the persuasion was much like a carefully-structured attempt to distract another child to one's own way of behaving (Example 2).

Example 1. Boys 1 and 2 have been playing with toy cars. Boy 1 has a car boy 2 wants. Boy 1 tells boy 2 to get another car. Boy 2 gets a smaller (inferior) car. Boy 1 raves about the little car. He says that the little car is really great. (Boy 1 does this so boy 2 won't want the bigger car that boy 1 has.) Boy 2 plays with the smaller car. Occasionally he starts to move toward boy 1's car. Whenever he does so, boy 1 again starts to admire boy 2's little car.

Example 2. Boy 1 has built an elaborate series of block towers. Boy 2 comes over and is about to knock down the towers. Boy 1 asks boy 2 to join him in his building work. By asking boy 2 to play with him, boy 1 keeps boy 2 from knocking down the block towers.

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES STRATEGIES

1. REFLECTION OF MOOD (FEELINGS)

> A child or group of children demonstrate that they are aware of, affected by, and/or are willing to reinforce a strong emotion in another.

Although only four instances were recorded, reflection of mood is essential to the class of strategies, constructive response. All the recorded instances are reflection of an unhappy mood following personal injury. Reflection of other emotions such as envy, anger, pleasure or pride might occur less frequently but it is also possible that they were not as ostentatiously observable.

Example 1. Boy 1 and girl 1 have been riding the trike around the play area. Suddenly boy 1 shoves girl 1 off the trike. Girl 1 starts crying. Girl 2 has been standing a little way off, watching the boy and girl ride the trike. Girl 2 sees the shoving incident and girl 1 crying. Girl 2 looks at girl 1 closely and girl 2 has a very sad and understanding look on her face. Girl 2 starts toward girl 1 just as girl 1 starts walking away from boy 1 and the trike. Girl 2 then stops moving toward girl 1 and girl 2 watches girl 1 walk away. Girl 2 makes no further attempt to catch up with girl 1 who is still crying. However, girl 2 still follows girl 1 with her eyes and girl 2 still looks very sad for girl 1.

Example 2. Boy 1's hand has been run over by a tricycle. It is bleeding but his crying makes his problem more noticeable than the bleeding. Two girls try to comfort him. Girl 1 hugs him. They are asking, "Who did it? Did Sean do it?" As his crying starts to subside girl 2 drifts off and is playing nearby. Girl 3 comes over and kneels beside boy 1. She reports, "He's bleeding," to girl 2. Girl 3 says this in the tone of a news item more than one of sympathy. Girl 2 replies "I know" and continues playing. Eventually Boy 1 stops crying altogether and all the children drift to various play activities.

2. CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSES TO ANOTHER'S MISFORTUNE

Children try to correct or alleviate another child/s problem.

Constructive responses usually followed personal injury. However, damage to property, personal frustration, and a sad appearance also elicited this strategy from peers. The forty-two instances observed fall roughly into two categories, (1) direct help and, (2) indirect efforts to reduce the impact of the misfortune. In the second category distraction and making amends were prominent. Girls tended to offer direct help while boys tended to use indirect means, specifically distraction. Help in response to injury and/or tears was always accepted but help with a task was sometimes ignored or refused. (Perhaps the child perceived "help" in these situations as aggressive interference.) Distraction, by way of contrast, invariably brought about an improvement in affect. Distraction seemed a more deliberate and less spontaneous response than helping. Making amends was observed three times. On a fourth occasion a boy may have intended apologizing except that the accusations and criticism of bystanders turned him away.

Other applications of this class of strategies were rarely observed. However, more might have been recorded had these applications been identified earlier in the evolution of the classification system.

Example 1. On the playground, boy 1 has fallen and is crying. Boy 2 is kneeling beside him and seems to be trying either to pick him up or to move him somewhere. The teacher notices, at this point, and comes over to help.

Example 2. Girl 1 is putting puzzle together with boy 1. Girl 1 is having trouble with one piece. Boy 1 says, "Let me do it." Girl 1 won't let him. Adult asks girl 1 and boy 1 to finish the puzzle. Girl 1 gives up the one piece she was having trouble with. Boy 1 picks up the piece and finishes puzzle alone.

Example 3. Boys 1 and 2 have been having a water fight and have been told to wipe the floor as punishment. However, boy 1 has wandered off leaving boy 2 to mop the floor alone. Boy 2 attempts to complain to the teacher, but is unable to get her attention. Girl 1 comes over, picks up the mop abandoned by boy 1, and begins helping boy 2 mop the floor. At this point the teacher notices and stops her, saying gruffly, "What are you doing? He's being punished." Boy 2 finishes the job alone.

Example 4. All children doing puzzles. Girl 1 is struggling with hers and making signs of frustration. Adult asks where it goes (lends support). A boy reaches over and takes a different piece and tries to fit it. The girl picks up still another piece. The boy doesn't find a piece to fit, puts his piece down and returns to own puzzle.

Example 5. Two girls have been wrestling in fun. Afterward girl 1 notices that girl 2's ponytail clip has been knocked crooked so girl 1 straightens it for girl 2.

Example 6. A little boy has been "run over" by a tricycle and is hurt. One of the girls who was playing with him takes him by the hand and leads him to the teacher.

Example 7. Girl 1 pokes clay-filled finger in girl 2's face. Clay gets on girl 2's face. Girl 2 passively tries to remove it. Girl 1 assists girl 2 in removing clay.

Example 8. Boy 1 has been building block towers. Boy 2, in crossing the room, knocks one down. Boy 1 says, "Roen, pick that up." Boy 2 complies. Boy 1 helps.

Example 9. Girl 1 had hurt girl 2's fingers accidentally. After she had left girl 2 began to cry. The teacher came up and asked, "What's wrong?" Girl 2 replied, "Raina hurt my fingers." Raina, nearby, hears this and comes over to say, "I'm sorry." The teacher says, "She seems to really mean it. See, she says she's sorry." The teacher hugs both of them.

Example 10. Boy 1 has ridden over boy 2's hand with tricycle. Boy 2 is crying. Other children group around, attempting to comfort him. Boy 1 rides back, seemingly in corner. Three girls group around castigating him, "You did it," "I'm telling,"etc. Boy 1 now displays no concern and rides off.

Example 11. (Negative instance). The entire class is singing. In the course of a game, girl 1 is called to the front of the room. Her pants are unzipped. Boy 2 points this out. Children giggle. Girl 1 looks embarrassed. The teacher stops them, saying, "Sometimes your pants come unzipped too." She zips up girl 1's pants. The singing game continues.

Example 12. (Negative instance). Girl 1 wet her pants making a dark waterstain on her tights. Two other girls saw her and ridiculed her. Girl 1 cried and the other girls ridiculed her even more. The teacher's aide picked up the girl to comfort her. Girls 2 and 3 turned to other activities.

Example 13. The children are playing quite actively in a gymnasium. Boy 1 is lying on some mats against the wall and crying. Three other boys are standing nearby and seem at first to be ignoring him. Then, without observable initiation, they take his arms and legs and pick him up. Boy 1 stops crying and starts grinning. The boys haul him a short distance in this manner, then put him down and turn to other activities. Boy 1 runs off, quite happily.

Example 14. Four boys have been wrestling. Boy 1 gets hurt and cries. Boys 2, 3, and 4 look. Boys 2 and 3 begin to tickle boy 1 in a friendly way and they play with boy 1. Boy 1 is distracted from his crying and is happy again.

Example 15. Girl 1 is sitting at the side of the gym crying for no apparent reason. Girl 2 who has been playing with a hula hoop for a long time comes over, gently rests the hula hoop against girl 1's lap, and runs off to a new activity.

Example 16. Girl 1 has been sitting on the steps by herself for about 7-8 minutes. She looks very unhappy. Boy 1 has been playing near the fence and has found something which he now has in his hand. Boy 1 sees girl 1 sitting on the steps and comes over to her. Girl 1 looks up at boy 1 and then boy 1 holds out his open hand to girl 1. Girl 1 starts smiling as she looks at what boy 1 is showing her. Boy 1's discovery is a bug. Girl 1 takes the bug from boy 1 and looks at it closely. Boy 1 is happy that she likes his bug. Girl 1 and boy 1 then take the bug over to adults 1 and 2 so they can look at the bug too. Adults 1 and 2 admire the bug and start talking with boy 1 and girl 1 about the bug. Everyone is enjoying the situation.

Example 17. (Negative instance). Girl 1 and girl 2 have been playing with a ball. Girl 3 and girl 4 look on longingly but are not invited to join.

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES STRATEGIES

3. ACCOMMODATING OTHER'S PREFERENCES OR LIFE STYLE.

> A child behaves in a way that is sensitive to another person's values, or habits, rather than his own.

This strategy was formally added to the classification scheme after the other examples had been collected. However, it is doubtful that many instances would have been observed even had it been identified earlier. The observers do not recall seeing any examples. Nor, do they recall situations where this strategy might reasonably have been employed. On the other hand, they do not discredit the possibility that the children could and would use the strategy if an appropriate situation arose.

APPENDIX

DESCRIPTIONS OF CLASSROOMS VISITED DURING THE STUDY

1. Nursery School, Independence, Oregon. This classroom, used mostly for pilot observing and for preliminary testing of certain materials, is composed of about 15 four- and five-year old children. Mostly the children are Mexican-American. There is also a Spanish-speaking teacher's aide. The facility is roomy, pleasant, and well-equipped. The children come mostly from emotionally, although not financially, stable backgrounds and are docile and well behaved in comparison to inner city children. The teacher conducts the class in a highly structured manner. Her curriculum is formulated to prepare the children for first grade, and she apparently succeeds in this objective. Although many instances of cooperation were observed here, the culture of the children and the very obvious presence of the teacher at all times are two variables that must be taken into account in tabulating these observations.
2. Day Care Center #1, Portland, Oregon. The children in this nursery probably come closer to the Sesame Street target group than those in any of the other schools visited. They are poor, black, inner city children from the Albina section of Portland.

It should be noted that there are some important differences between Portland's Albina area and the inner city areas found in some of the larger metropolitan areas. It is smaller physically than most. Moreover, a large proportion of dwellings are single-

family homes. While the population is predominantly black, white families are found in almost every block. In contrast to other inner cities, the attitude of persons involved in community improvement work is one of optimism.

The Day Care Center is free and is open from 6 a.m. until 6 p.m. Although the Head Start Curriculum is used, it does not nearly fill the day for the children. Much time is allotted for free play. Under the Director's assumption that the parents wish only peace and quiet from the children when they return from work, the center allows the children to expend as much energy as possible. Two very different classrooms in this center were observed.

Room 4 is composed of about 40 four-year-olds, a teacher and two teacher aides. Due to staff conflicts (the teacher is white, with no prior preschool experience; the aides are black, firm, competent and resentful of the teacher) almost all structure in the classroom has broken down. There is an unusual number of disturbed children in the classroom which contributes to a chaotic environment. As a result, the classroom is disorganized, noticeably hostile, and there is a perceptibly tense atmosphere. Cooperation, trust, empathy are rare, and conflicts of one sort or another are constant. Observers are additionally handicapped by the constant demands of the children for attention. Any cooperative behavior observed in this classroom should be noted as cropping up under the most adverse circumstances conceivable.

Room 5, with a similar setup, contains the five-year-olds. Teacher-aides conflict is absent, contributing to a more stable classroom environment. The room incorporates a kindergarten program into the long day. Because the population is close to the target group,

and because reasonably objective observation is possible in this classroom it is a fruitful area for observation.

3. Day Care Center #2, Portland, Oregon. This center is also located in the Albina section of Portland, but because there is a small fee, the population is drawn from slightly more affluent homes than that at Day Care Center #1. The children are predominately black, although not exclusively. The center is somewhat limited in terms of space and facilities, but there is a strong belief in "doing the best with what we've got." It is non-sectarian, although the religious influence is somewhat obvious. There are two main classrooms, each divided in half, with a teacher and several volunteer aides for each half. The tone, set by the nun who directs the school, is one of affection and freedom within a structure. A Head Start and kindergarten program respectively is incorporated in the 12-hour day. Much time is allotted for free physical activity. All of the teachers and aides seem to enjoy the children, and the children react by being boisterous and yet well behaved. This classroom is the only one in which cooperation and empathy are almost consistently practiced by the children without overt adult initiation. The population and atmosphere for the school make it excellent for observational purposes.

4. Day Care Center #3, Portland, Oregon. Although it is located in the same area as Center #2 and populated by a similar economic group, the atmosphere here is quite different. Again, there are several classrooms, each composed of about thirty children, about half black and half white, a teacher, and a teacher's aide. The children are not drawn specifically from the Albina section; rather, parents from all over the city who work in the nearby industrial district drop their

children here. The personnel at this nursery tend to be somewhat older than in the other schools. They seem more concerned than in other schools with the children's behavior, neatness and orderly conduct. The classroom is subdued and teacher intervention is frequent. Also, the activities of the class tend to be quite uncreative--listening to records, doing puzzles, etc. The children seem balanced and examples of cooperative behavior are evident, but the frequent intervention of adults in the classroom makes true spontaneity of behavior difficult to observe.